



SCHOOL OF
ECONOMICS AND
MANAGEMENT

Master's Programme in Economic Growth Population, and Development

God, homeland, and those who had the right to neither

An overview of private property laws and human capital accumulation
during dictatorial colonial rule in Angola

by

Mariana Martins Cardoso

ma2782ma-s@student.lu.se

Abstract

Human Capital is deemed as an imperative factor for economic growth, however, it is argued the extent of this interrelation. Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson (2014) claim that the institutional framework of a nation, in specific those of private property are deemed as pivotal for a nation's development. In this sense, in order to contextualise this argument, the current thesis focuses on the case of Angola during the period of 1933 to 1974, while creating a descriptive analysis of private property laws and how it follows the trends of human capital accumulation. In this sense, the thesis will not only provide a contextualization of the multiple works of Acemoglu but also provide the first English description of pre-colonial Angolan legislation (of the author's knowledge). It is concluded that despite the existence of private property laws, the discrepancy of its applicability and the recurrent changes negatively affected human capital accumulation of the masses, and was translated into the migration of individuals with low literacy into the country.

Programme Code: EKHS22
Master's Thesis (15 credits ECTS)
August 2022
Supervisor: Igor Martins
Examiner: Helene Castenbrandt
Word Count: 12,917

Table of Contents

Definitions	iii
Glossary.....	iv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Problem, Aim and Scope	1
1.2 Outline of the Thesis	2
2 Theory	4
2.1 Human Capital and Economic Development	4
The neoclassical growth model, or the Solow growth model	4
The endogenous growth model	5
2.2 New institutional economics, human capital, and development	5
New institutional economics: Development and Overview	5
The interaction between human capital and institutions	8
2.3 Contextualization of Angolan history during colonial rule.....	9
Structure of human capital formation and accumulation from 1910 to 1975, and overview on post-independence	13
3 Data.....	15
3.1 Source Material	15
3.2 Issues with data collection and scope of data.....	16
4 Methods.....	17
4.1 The Methodological Approach.....	17
5 Empirical Analysis	19
5.1 Description and application of private property law	19
5.2 Human Capital accumulation during the dictatorship.....	26
6 Conclusion.....	30
References	32
Appendix A	40

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Angola	v
Figure 2- Migratory movements in Angola from 1936 to 1940.....	26

Definitions

Institutions: Rules of the game in a society; human made restrictions the economic and social spheres (North, 1991).

Extractive Institutions: Institutions intended for the extraction of wealth from a society in favour of the elite, namely through the exploration of natural resources (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2004).

Inclusive institutions: Institutions that aim for the empowerment of the general population, namely through the access to private property rights and equal access to legal rights (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2004).

Human Capital: Intrinsic Useful abilities of individuals that may be developed through self-interest or education, and by way of labour generate wealth (Smith, 1776a).

Economic Development: Number of policies and social activities that aim for the advancement of a community's well-being as well as social and economic means (Province of British Columbia, 2022).

Economic Growth: An increase on a nation's wealth through an expansion of output in the form of goods and services (Potters, 2022).

Rule of law: Constraints on the the arbitrary application of power through legal accountability. In this thesis the protection of private property is deemed as a proxy to the rule of law (World Justice Project, 2022).

Glossary

MPLA: *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)

FNLA: *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)

UPA: *União das Populações de Angola* (Union of the Angolan People)

UNITA: *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

USD: United States Dollar

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

MFA: *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (Armed Forces Movement)

Figure 1 Map of Angola



Adapted from Zorclub (2010)

1 Introduction

1.1 Research Problem, Aim and Scope

Institutions are generally described as the rules of the game; a number of human-made hindrances that structure the economic and social spheres (North, 1991). In this sense, institutions are seen as the foundation of human action, and therefore scholars try to understand how past institutions are correlated with current outcomes.

A clear example of this work is that of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a), that argues how colonial institutions, in particular extractive institutions of private property, were triggers for a reversal of fortunes in which nations that in the past were wealthy, saw their riches being reverted to their colonizers and thereafter, their development hindered.

Despite defining a correlation on the application of inefficient institutions, only at a later stage and through an argumentative perspective, does one have an explanation by Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson (2014) on how institutions obstruct long-term development. Predominantly the authors argue that human capital accumulation (one of the most important factors for economic growth) is correlated with the application of private property laws.

Nonetheless, it is claimed by some that the work of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a) lacks contextualization, and it is in the lookout for this contextualization that the current thesis finds its aim (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2012; Francis, 2014a; Kvangraven & Constantine, 2015).

For example, one of the culprits for establishing extractive institutions in its colonies is Portugal, yet the amount of English information on Portuguese-speaking countries is still dim as of this time.

The case of Portuguese-speaking nations is particularly interesting due to the different dynamics that have evolved right after independence. While in the case of Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, one has seen an independence process marked by land exploitation led war, the same did not apply to other nations that were seemingly under the same “rules of the game”. Additionally, in the case of Angola, not only did one observe the rise of the independence war but also the continuation of one of the longest civil wars in the continent at that time, paired with an exodus of human capital through individuals that represented the majority of those economically active (Bonnerot et al., 2022; Malaquias, 1999, 2014).

The case of Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2002a) also display a wide gap between the time of analysis and that of the outcomes; in particular, they consider data from the 1500s that may be unreliable for estimating the development issues we currently observe. This, once

again, displays a lack of contextualization. It makes sense that there were in the fourteenth-century countries that invested in repopulation more than others, but, yet again, most countries as we know them today were yet to be established at that time. In the case of Angola, the establishment of its borders only occurred with the Berlin Conference at the end of the nineteenth century (Cahen, 2021).

In this sense, it was imperial to define a timeframe coherent with the establishment of the borders. Additionally, given the reoccurrent change of political regime occurring in Portugal, in the beginning of the 19th century that only ceased with the instauration of the dictatorship, it was considered interesting to understand the dynamics of private property and human capital accumulation from 1933 until 1974, the year of independence.

From this perspective, the following research question was established:

Can one observe the establishment of extractive institutions of private property during dictatorial colonial rule in Angola?

While additionally answering the following sub-questions:

Is it possible to observe a discrepancy between private property laws in mainland Portugal and those established in Angola?

How was the treatment of the natives concerning private property laws?

How did private property laws impact human capital accumulation? In particular, what was the profile of those moving to the country within this timeframe?

On this basis, it is believed that it will be possible to propose a contextualization and in-depth analysis of the case of Angola while simultaneously contributing to an exposition of the legislative framework (and overall literature) in English, which generally is not available.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 consists of the introduction and aims to familiarise the reader with the topic of institutionalism and the relevant approaches taken throughout the discussion of the Angolan case.

Chapter two consists of the theoretical framework that elucidates the development of this thesis. Particularly it takes a deep dive into the implications of human capital accumulation within economic development and how it is related to the institutional framework of a nation. Additionally, it gives a background on the study of institutions and the historical context of Angola within the period of study.

Chapters three and four comprise a description of the data and methodology while considering the implications and limitation of the dataset and the utilization of a qualitative case-study for the development of the topic at hand.

Chapter five has two main focuses. Part one gives a detailed description and discussion of the legal framework of private property in Angola and how it relates to the theories of Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinsons (2002a). In contrast, the second part considers the accumulation of human capital within this timeframe and how the legal framework of the epoch incentivizes it.

Finally, in chapter six, the research questions are once again brought into scrutiny while simultaneously entailing the main findings of the thesis and how they relate to the pre-defined objectives and possible future research.

2 Theory

2.1 Human Capital and Economic Development

As old as the existence of economics as a science, the bridge between economic development and human capital is deemed as one of the essential points for economic growth.

The first academic reference to this relation can allude to Adam Smith's (Smith, 1776b) book "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations". In this, the author inputs a country's progress on the individual useful abilities of people, which through labour and self-interest grind the gears to the wealth of nations.

Since then, many theories that take a macroeconomic approach to growth theory have inputted Human Capital as a pivotal aspect.

In the remaining of this sub-chapter, the main schools of thought within this theme will be interpreted.

The neoclassical growth model, or the Solow growth model

Developed in 1956, the Solow growth model has great inspiration from Keynesian economics (Keynes, 1936; Solow, 1956). In its original form, human and physical capital are considered production factors (Solow, 1956). Considering the definition of human capital as the capabilities embodied in individuals in the form of skills, knowledge and thereafter labour, increases in human capital induce the accumulation of physical capital through a boost of its marginal productivity (Boyko et al., 2019; Osiobe, 2019). In contrast, the accumulation of physical capital and the perfection of technology there inherent will result in the accretion of human capital through the demand for skilled labour (Mincer, 1974; Mincer & Polachek, 1978).

Undertaking that, as previously mentioned, we meet before a neoclassical theory and thereafter a simple production function with labour and capital as main inputs, increases in the capital as an all will result in economic growth (Zamulin & Sonin, 2019).

Nonetheless, just as classic economists and those that took inspiration from them, this model considers the arrival of a steady state, in which growth stagnates and, in this case, will only variate through technological progress (Malthus, 1999; Mill, 1863; Ricardo, 1817; Say, 1821; Solow, 1956).

Even so, the Solow model still leaves some variations of growth to be explained. This resulted in the unification of both neoclassical economics and economic history, providing advances that not only recognised the time and space of growth but also gave us insight into theories of

convergence between countries with different income levels that can catch up at a faster rate due to spillover effects, giving rise to the endogenous growth model (Dalgaard & Strulik, 2013; Galor & Moav, 2002; Galor & Weil, 2000; Hansen & Prescott, 2002; Punzo, 2018; Robert & Lucas, 2022).

The endogenous growth model

As previously stated, the Solow model considers the arrival of a steady state in which growth would only be powered by technological progress. However, the theory fails to explain the drivers of said progress (Boyko et al., 2019).

In the '80s, the endogenous growth model shed light on this question. Under this theory, human capital was not only a factor of production but also a central aspect of the growth dynamic (Mamoloko & Ngwakwe, 2019; Romer, 1986). In this sense, economic growth and development differentials on a national level were a key result of human capital accumulation (Romer, 1986).

Since 1986 the endogenous growth model has suffered various adjustments. For example, while authors such as Howitt and Aghion (1998) took inspiration from Schumpeter's (1942) theory of creative destruction not only to justify the impact of the stock of human capital as a direct cause of growth but also as an indirect input through the field of research and development; others considered the impact of a nation's institutional framework as a driver for human capital accumulation through governmental services and taxation (Barro, 1990).

2.2 New institutional economics, human capital, and development

The previous sub-chapter ended with a simple overview of how some theorists considered the institutional aspect a driver of human capital accumulation and a means of expanding the endogenous growth model. In this section, these considerations will be taken a step further through an overview of new institutional economics as a field and how academics in the subject justify its interrelation with the stock of capital.

New institutional economics: Development and Overview

The development of institutionalism as a field of economics was first brought upon at the beginning of the 20th century, when sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen, in opposition with the, at the time, mainstream static economics, defined the individual not as an actor that shapes the economic field but one whose actions are dependable on social and cultural tenets, bringing for the first time an almost Darwinist and everchanging perspective in this field of study (Almeida, 2015).

Despite other authors such as Clark (1939), Commons (1934), and Tugwell (1969) had at the time taken an interest in this field, its development was not prominent, leaving for some time the idea of a society that operates within a continuously evolving system, untouched.

The re-emersion of institutionalism through the eyes of a new school of thought was first formalized by Williamson (2000). The author introduced the term *new institutional economics* to identify those academics that developed the ideas of Veblen and his contemporaries but oversaw the individual as one whose preferences were predetermined. Moreover, this economic perspective extends on the early work of Coase, the father of new institutional economics, to identify the reasoning behind the efficiency of institutions such as private property. Particularly, it takes into account that the persistency of institutions is an outcome of its resulting benefits; an institution will be maintained if its aggregate transaction costs are lower than the benefits perceived by the society it is inserted in (Coase, 1998; Elsnier, Heinrich & Schwardt, 2015; Teraji, 2018).

Williamson's (2000) work also allowed for identifying a clear path that interconnects various types of institutions. According to the author, there are four levels of social analysis which are subdivided in the following order: informal institutions (traditions and religion), institutional environment (private property and bureaucracy), governance (the connection between government structures and transactions), and resource allocation (Williamson, 2000). In this sense, Williamson (2002) can design a timeframe for institutional change.

For the sake of the current thesis, the theoretical interest lies in those authors that focus on the second level of social analysis, particularly on the work of Daron Acemoglu and his long-term research partners.

Within their famous pieces, the authors take an approach that focuses on how economic and political institutions, in particular private property, positively influence growth and resource allocation through increments in productivity (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001a, 2004, 2001b, 2002a; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2000; Acemoglu & Verdier, 1998).

The new institutional economists, which include among them Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2002a), propose that economic institutions are endogenous, and individuals have different preferences on resource distribution, leaving those with political power as the dictators of the nation's economic institutions. Political power can be distinguished into two types: *de jure* political power that results from political institutions and influences economic institutions and thereafter economic performance and distribution of resources in the subsequent year, and *de facto* political power that results from the distribution of resources and impacts political institutions in the following year (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001a, 2004, 2001b, 2002a; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2000; Acemoglu & Verdier, 1998).

In this sense, resource allocation and, thereafter, the source of prosperity is a deliberate choice of the elite that, by serving their purpose, see the outcome of the institutions created as irrelevant (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2004). Nonetheless, good institutions are deemed as incentivising productive investments, which only occur once one sees a return on their investment, in other words, if private property is insured.

The authors then extended this theory to cases in which colonialism was the main focus (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001a, 2002a).

Under this work, in particular under the seminal paper "Reverse of Fortunes", the main argument is that developing nations were richer than developed countries before the colonial process, yet the institutions formed during colonial rule, in particular, that of the European's prompted this reversal in the gross domestic product (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2002a; Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2012).

Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson (2002b) see settler mortality as the reason for the prevalence of these institutions. In countries where mortality was high and land was densely populated, nations tended to establish extractive institutions that exploited both the land and the colony's population. On the other hand, in countries in which settler mortality was low and where the population was largely sparse such as North America and Australia, the colonizer established good institutions that attracted European settlers and answered their demands, such as private property (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2002a; Francis, 2014a).

The authors also developed a case study on an exception to the norm, Botswana. They go on to state that in contrast to the case of other African nations, in Botswana, institutions of private property had been raised. They justify this risk on three main factors: inclusive pre-colonial institutions that laid down pressure over the political elite; the minimal constraints of English colonialism that did not provide major changes to this institutional framework, and the strengthening of institutions of private property as an interest of the elites after independence (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001a).

Nonetheless, the theories of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002b) were opposed by many. While Francis (2014b), Kvangraven and Constantine (2015) point out the restricted view of history as well as methodological problems on the definition of proxies of wealth in the 1500, Engerman and Sokoloff (2008), Glaeser et al. (2004), and Sachs(2003) consider more seminal arguments for the establishment of their disagreement.

Sachs (2003) points out geography's direct and indirect effects on development. According to the author, economic and political institutions, in particular bad institutions, result in a nation's land productivity, epidemiological predisposition and access to water sources (Sachs, 2003).

On the other hand, Engerman and Sokoloff (2008) consider the distinction between good and bad institutions characterized in the various works of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a) as being too stiff. The authors point out that institutions that, at first glance, would be deemed dissimilar could be considered perfect substitutes. Moreover, they argue that it is not political power that shapes institutions but the environment in which those institutions are inserted (Engerman & Sokoloff, 2008).

Additionally, some authors criticize the work of Acemoglu and his research partners on the ground of the preceding subchapter: the impact of human capital on the development process.

For example, Glaeser et al. (2004) criticize the unsuitability of the instrumental variables utilized by Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a) by revisiting the three main aspects of the rule of law (risk of expropriation by the government, government effectiveness, and constrain on the executive) and not considering them true proxies of political institutions. The authors argue that Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a) should have taken human capital as a priority; according to them, human capital is considered the actual differentiative

factor between nations. In countries where European settlers invested and brought about human capital, better institutions and economic outcomes were formed (Glaeser et al., 2004).

Academics such as Glaeser et al. (2004) generally base their arguments on authors such as Lipset (1959) and Easterlin (1981). For example, Lipset (1959) argues that economic growth and its outcomes, such as the accumulation of human capital, are at the core of institutional change; in this sense, the appearance of democracy, for example, is a result of growth and not the other way around. On the other hand, Easterlin (1981) considers that human capital is the essence of wealth divergences between nations.

Nonetheless, the discussion on the interaction between institutions and human capital will be further deepened in the subsequent sub-chapter.

The interaction between human capital and institutions

In general, literature focusing on the interaction between human capital and institutions tries to understand how “good institutions” stimulate factor accumulation and growth (Dias & Tebaldi, 2012).

The first ever explanation of this interaction can be found in Wolf Jr. & Sufrin (2012); in their book, first released in 1955, the authors discern the cause for differences in technology and capital formation, in particular, the lack of thereof, as a result of the absence of institutions that promote their development.

Additionally, Romer (1990) and Schumpeter (1983) consider the role of private property as the motor for the development of knowledge. Both authors take into account the fact that knowledge developed through processes of research and development is generally a result of the existence of patents. Patents serve as permits that confer a monopoly title over the selling and making of an invention (Pires, Ribeiro & Quintella, 2020). These authors also defend the existence of spillover, and thereafter productivity increases in the economy over the knowledge created through research and development (Dias & Tebaldi, 2012). More recently, Benoliel (2015) defended that the persistency of institutions that protect private property tends to incentivize and facilitate the formation of patents and subsequently spreadable knowledge.

Other authors also corroborated the persistency of private property-prone nations through a historical perspective on the existence of private property throughout the countries' development (Acemoglu, Gallego & Robinson, 2014; Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2002b; Engerman & Sokoloff, 2005; Khan & Sokoloff, 2001).

While Engerman & Sokoloff (2005) found that the existence of the right to vote positively affects the persistence of human capital, Khan & Sokoloff (2001) observed how protecting private property in the United States impacted the spread of knowledge when compared to Latin American nations.

More recently, Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson (2014), in answer to the previously mentioned arguments by Glaeser et al. (2004), pointed out several interesting interactions.

The main conclusion of their essay is that human capital accumulation does not significantly affect the various measures of political institutions. However, this only reaches the surface of the Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson's (2014) argument. Acemoglu, Gallego & Robinson (2014) start by contradicting the ideas of Glaeser et al. (2004); according to them, colonizers of nations in which extractive institutions were installed had higher human capital than in those where settler institutions were established; however, they lacked on the instalment of mass schooling in the colonies, which appears to be the actual differentiative factor.

The authors point out the importance of the rule of law. The rule of law is considered a “durable system of laws, institutions, norms, and community commitment” (World Justice Project, 2022) in which there is the accountability of both the government and private entities; there is an even application of law that must ensure, among other, human and property rights; where the process of law administration and enforcement is effective and fair-minded; and in which justice is enforced by neutral individuals that echo the community served (World Justice Project, 2022). In the view of Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson (2014), private property, when expressed as a proxy for institutions and the rule of law, is not deemed a causal result of human capital. However, under the same assumptions, the authors conclude that institutions impact long-term development through, among others, human capital accumulation.

2.3 Contextualization of Angolan history during colonial rule

Pacheco, Costa and Tavares (2017) subdivide the history of Angola during colonial rule into five phases:

1. The arrival of Diogo Cão to Zaire in 1482 and the contact with the Congolese king Nzinga-a-Nvuko;
2. The period between 1500 and 1885 was marked by the Atlantic slave trade that moved around 11 million natives to the American continent;
3. 1885-1910 was characterized by the effective control of Angola by the Portuguese and consequently military occupation and war;
4. 1910-1961 evidenced the capitalistic exploration of Angola through new methods of production and forced labour and the exploration of natural resources resulting from the implantation of the first republic in Portugal. This period also evinced, between 1930 and 1940, an increase in the white population of Angola resulting from the incentives of the, at the time, dictatorial regime of Salazar that saw Angola as the jewel of the Portuguese empire (da Cunha Carvalho, 2015);
5. 1961-1975 comprises the time of the independence war.

For simplicity and given this thesis timeframe, the main historical focus will be in phases four and five.

In the nineteenth century, with the complete dominance of Angola's current territory and its frontier's establishment with Namibia after the Berlin Conference, the colonial rule prioritised the repopulation of the territory with Portuguese nationals (Cahen, 2021). By the 1960s, Angola was considered a nation that comprised the richness of the French Western African empire with the same number of colonial descendants as the English Rhodesia (Pacheco, Costa & Tavares, 2017).

Adding to this factor that resulted in the weakening of the capital's bureaucrats (with Portuguese descent) and consequent revolt by the same, that foresaw an antagonism between Portuguese and Angolan, other two motives justify the rise of the nationalist movements in the country. On one side, the period of 1910 to 1930 created a great gap between those who owned the land and those who were explored over the work on said land. On the other, the church and its influence from abroad fed into nationalism, especially through schooling (Agostinho, 2011).

Tale says that on the 10th of December of 1956, under a tree and during the night, one of the most important political parties for the independence and the creation of Angola as we know it was founded: the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) (MPLA, 2022).

Nonetheless, Agualusa (1993) points out another story. The author mentions how the development of this nationalistic and Marxist political party resulted from the unification of other smaller movements that centred their efforts on the liberation of Angola from colonial rule.

Nevertheless, the movement was not created without constraints. When of its creation, the group was led by Viriato da Cruz, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Manuel das Neves, Aníbal de Melo and Elídio Machado; five members of the capital's urban bourgeoisie of Portuguese background. Their upbringing created a clear separation grounded on the difficulty of reaching the population in the rural areas that could not understand nor justify the existence of a liberation movement led by the colonizer's progenies (Agualusa, 1993).

Parallely, two other central liberation movements were created.

The *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (FNLA) originated in 1962 through the integration of the *União das Populações de Angola* (UPA) and the *Partido Democrático de Angola* (PDA), with the foremost being leaded by Holden Roberto, which then became the main figure of the FNLA. Mainly, the movement asserted its convictions against communism and white Portuguese (Matias da Silva, 2018). At the roots of its formation, the FNLA, like other liberation movements, deemed ethnic and political factors. Malaquias (1999) points out the foundation of FNLA as a movement that represented the Bakongo ethnic group and indirectly aimed to revive the northern Angolan Congolese kingdom.

Four years later, the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) was created in Eastern Angola by its leader, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, and the *Conjurados de 13 de Março* (Conjured of the 13th of March), stimulating the movement for the independence of Angola in the interior of the country (UNITA, 2015). Created as a dissident of FNLA, UNITA was a movement that represented the country's major ethnic group, the Ovimbundo and mainly valued the Angolan culture (Macedo, 2008; Malaquias, 1999).

In 1950, before the creation of this movement, the first signs of a possible revolt emerged. The Portuguese dictator, Salazar¹, gets information from the CIA on the possibility of a riot in Northern Angola during the United Nations conference on the Union of the African Population. However, Salazar despite being aware of the communication between the later leader of FNLA, Holden Roberto, and the United States, ignored this statement (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a).

Even so, the first signs of war were only materialized in January 1961 in Malanje (a region 380km east of Luanda), motivated by the lack of work conditions in agricultural sights (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a). The farmers of Cotonang, the Angolan cotton company, protested for both the low price of cotton, their wages that varied between 20 and 30 USD and the overall oppression and treatment by their employers (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a).

This event was acerbated by the arrival of the UPA in the region, which prolonged protests and resulted in a bombing on the 6th of February 1961 (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a).

Contrastingly, the MPLA only associates the beginning of the independence war with the outbreak in the main political prisons of Luanda on the 4th of February of 1961, motivated by the presence of foreign journalists in Luanda due to an event that could internationally broadcast the attack (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a).

Nonetheless, on the 15th of March, an attack on dozens of coffee farms in Northern Angola by the UPA resulted in the death of around 800 people. Its consequences were detrimental to the realization, by the Portuguese government, of the upcoming international pressure for the

¹ António de Oliveira Salazar, was a Portuguese Prime Minister, that ruled Portugal and its territories from 1933 to 1974. The fascists movements that had risen during this era were a source of inspiration to Salazar, which ruled the country under the principles of *Deus, Pátria e Família* (God, Homeland, and Family), instigating within the Portuguese population movements that restricted the freedom of thought.

independence of Angola and the rest of the colonized territories (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022a).

It is believed that such events pointed Salazar for the need of reformations in its colonial policies. Nonetheless, authors such as Fortuna and Cahen (2013) point out that despite the increase in pace triggered by the war, the reforms had already started from 1958 to 1959. Moreover, these reforms were grounded on the view that the economic subsistence of the territory could only be upheld, for example, in an increase in cotton prices and not in only in the exploration of natural resources.

The exacerbation of the conflict with other Portuguese colonies and internally resulted in thousands of individuals either killed or trying to escape the war by moving to mainland Portugal or Luanda. Nonetheless, by the 1970s, Angola represented the territory in which the liberation movements had the least power due to their divergent political views powered by their external support (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022b). Extraneous to the regional and ethnical groups of support by the three main militias, nations supposedly external to the conflict, and mostly powered by the seek for control and recognition during the Cold War started supporting each of the movements during and after independence (Correia, 2016). Zambia and the USSR backed up the MPLA, the FNLA was supported by the United States of America both on its own and through the Republic of Zaire, and UNITA was allies with China, South Africa and those in the Portuguese government that supported the liberation of the colonies (Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, 2022b).

On the 25th of April 1974, the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA) put an end to the dictatorial regime that had been present in Portugal since 1933. However, under their rule, the political objectives passed through the infamous 3 Ds rule: democratization, development, and decolonization. On the 15th of January 1975, the MPLA, UNITA, and MFA signed the treaty of Alvor, which denoted a temporary transitional regime in Angola until the 11th of November of the same year. Under the treaty, it was established the parameters for the share of power between the three-liberation movement after independence. However, once the official independence was proclaimed, the treaty conventions were immediately disintegrated, with two governments being parallelly founded. On one side, the MPLA established the Popular Republic of Angola in Luanda. On the other, in Huambo, the FNLA and UNITA conventionalized the Democratic Republic of Angola, with the international community supporting the primer (except for Portugal, which only established its support in 1976) (Matias da Silva, 2018).

The independence also generated a crisis in which the population living in Angola had the choice of maintaining the Portuguese nationality and the option to leave the nation. Given that around 400,000 individuals left the country with the majority being white or of white descendant, and provided that not only 95% of the qualified population was white, but also that as of the 70s, the Portuguese population had lower school levels when compared to its other European peers, the independence not only generated a mass movement of the nations human capital but also of individuals that took part in the entirety of the country's value chain, from taxi drivers to government bodies (Fortuna & Cahen, 2013; Malaquias, 2014).

Additionally, with the dichotomy of the groups in charge the contrasts on reaching a common goal generated the beginning of one of Africa's longest civil wars for power.

The support of the MPLA by the soviet nations generated a dependency on socialist powers and the nation's natural resources, with the MPLA financing the war and the nation with petrol, and UNITA (which by the late 70s merged with the FNLA) dominating the diamonds business (Matias da Silva, 2018).

The war ended in 2002 with the death of Jonas Savimbi, making the MPLA the internationally defined ruling party in the country from 1975 until today (Matias da Silva, 2018).

Structure of human capital formation and accumulation from 1910 to 1975, and overview on post-independence

As previously mentioned, with the establishment of Angola's current borders came the political urge for repopulation and, consequently, ensure the fulfilment of the colonizer's demands, namely that of education (Balgido Quiage, 2014; Cahen, 2021).

Nonetheless, the development of an official education system in the country dates back to 1845, with the creation of schools that focused on reading, counting and writing and were established in the cities of Benguela and Luanda (Gomes, 2014).

In 1920, the political reformulation of the colonies arising from the formerly described events gave rise to a dichotomy. Consequently, there was a need to educate the assimilated population that had reached Angola and the other colonies and educate the indigenous population in light of the Portuguese cultural values (Gomes, 2014).

In this sense, two education systems were simultaneously created. A catholic education focused on indigenous individuals which aimed to "elevate those in the wild into the cultured and enlightened lifestyle", and primary education for children of Portuguese descent was centred on the general basis of education up to secondary schooling. (Balgido Quiage, 2014; Gomes, 2014; Lusa, 2022)

In the 1950s, the access and development of the education system were probed but not without insights into the Portuguese dictatorial regime. While the administration considered how mass education could positively impact the modernization and development of the regions, the governing bodies also considered how education could perversely sway the population against the institution's main objective: to keep Angola as a Portuguese ultramarine territory (Gomes, 2014).

In the 1960s, the reformation considered the extension of public primary and secondary education into rural areas and the implementation, in 1962, of the first university in the country, the University of Luanda, with two campuses, one in Luanda and other in *Nova Lisboa*, current province of Huambo (CPLP-SE, 2022).

During the 1960s, one could also see the utilization of education as a means to achieve the government's goals. In this sense, expanding the education system into rural areas was not a way to develop education but to deepen the metropolis interests to discourage and neutralise the activism reinforced by the independence war. to a cultural unification by employing the Portuguese food served in the school canteens (Gomes, 2014).

In the 1970s, with the independence, it was estimated that 85% to 90% of the population could not read and write. Despite the efforts in 1976 to create a national commission for literacy, the prevalence of the civil war created a gap between the national and international measures of the commission's achievements. While in 1985, the Angolan government established that 59% of the country was alphabetized, the international community denoted tha, in reality,t this value only rose to 20% (Balgido Quiage, 2014).

Additionally, when the independence and after the population movements entailed, out of the 25 thousand primary teachers, only around 2 thousand were equipped for that level of education. This tendency was more preponderant as the education levels rose. When considering the second and third cycles of education, only 600 teachers were capable of teaching at that stage of schooling (Balgido Quiage, 2014).

3 Data

3.1 Source Material

The secondary qualitative data was collected through an online analysis of Portuguese public institutions' archives during the dictatorial regimes (1933 to 1975). In this sense, data related to legislations, specifically civil codes, constitutional alterations, legal decrees, and norms related to private property, as well as statistics on Angolan demography, were collected. To achieve this goal four archives were analyzed. For clarity, they will be discussed separately in relation to the information retrieved.

The collection of data was done through a funnel approach for a period of three weeks. In the beginning, the data was collected through the Portuguese National Statistics Institute and provided yearly information on population movements and schooling in Angola since 1938 through the Overseas Statistical Yearbook. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the information present in the Yearbooks was not homogeneous from year to year and in this sense, some of the information for the study's main aim might not have been available as of this time.

The Overseas Statistical Yearbook allowed for the compilation of a sample of 36 documents.

Through the archive of the Portuguese Republic Assembly, information on the Constitution of 1933, the Colonial Act, and the proceeding constitutional revision and changes were analyzed. Five of the eleven documents were deemed relevant for elaborating the current thesis.

The Nova University Lisbon law school's archive allowed for the collection of the 1867 Civil Code.

The retrieval and registry of all laws, norms and alterations related, specifically, to the territory of Angola were registered in the "Official newsletter of the colony of Angola" (later named the "Official newsletter of the overseas territory of Angola"), unfortunately, as of the time of development of the current thesis, this newsletter's archive had not been processed, neither online nor in the Portuguese national archive.

In this sense, the author considered other possibilities for retrieval of these legislative alterations and decided to take into account the documents present in the archive of the *Diário da República*. The *Diário da República* (denominated *Diário do Governo*, from 1869 to 1976), constitutes the official newspaper of the Republic of Portugal. Under its publications, the newspaper is responsible for the public divulgation of the legislative alterations in the country. This included, at the time, legislative alterations related to the oversea territories,

which would then be published in the official newsletter of the respective colonies. Consequently, for gathering any legal alterations during the period in hands, an online archival search of all legislative alterations under the keyword “Angola” and within the time frame of the 1st of January 1933 and the 31st of December 1975 was regarded (though 1975 data is not relevant in terms of the Research Question at hands it is required for a matter of contextualization). This exercise generated an analysis of around 4596 laws considered relevant for private property, which can be found in Appendix A, which puts together an overview of the legislative data sample.

3.2 Issues with data collection and scope of data

Despite being aware that the population movements through the registry of border controls were, by the time, reliable, the same does not apply to the schooling registry that may underpin the number of individuals enrolled in non-government official schools outside the capitals of the Angolan provinces. Consequently, the numbers related to the Overseas Statistical Yearbook may be downwards bound when accounting for the specialised individuals' exact representation.

Additionally, during data retrieval, the program ‘NVivo 12’ was used in the first phase for sampling, documentation, and overall management. However, the program was only free for two weeks, generating an issue due to budget constraints. Consequently, no software has been used for the last week of data management.

Considering that throughout the data collection process, only legislative documents were taken into account to make historical documentation of the private property progress, there may be a gap between reality and the legal framework. However, the reflections made during the empirical analysis point out that this issue may have been hindered, and though it may not be exact when comparing the discussion with the theoretical background, the conclusions are coherent.

Finally, despite the extension of the data collected, some legislative reformulations may have been skipped due to human error. Nonetheless, this is not expected to affect the conclusions.

4 Methods

4.1 The Methodological Approach

The methodological approach utilized was a case study through a documentation review. The particularity of the Angolan case, when paired with a necessity for an in-depth understanding of the influence of private property on development through an exploratory and real-life setting, prompted the utilization of this approach.

The goal of utilizing qualitative methods is to understand the contextualization of a phenomenon, particularly to understand the factors behind the causal effects mostly described under quantitative research (Busetto, Wick & Gumbinger, 2020).

Applying a case study within research allows one to explore the previously described contextualization within a framework that may be deemed unique (Gustafsson, 2017; ScienceDirect, 2022).

The main objective of this thesis is to propose a new view that either confirms or denies what has been previously established in the theoretical framework. Given that the interpretation of other documents is in itself biased by the theory and contextualization of its authors, it is understood that the actual interpretation of the nation's, at the time, legal framework may provide the most unbiased answer to the question at hand.

Moreover, the utilization of a single case is urged due to the Angolan case's critical, unusual, and complex establishment. Although, according to Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a), the case of the Portuguese colonies represents that in which one nation implemented extractive institutions of private property on others, giving both the lack of literature and the complexity of the Angolan case, that generated one of the longest civil wars in the continent, right after independence, the case is on itself remarkable and stands out on the context of other Portuguese speaking African countries, or other Portuguese speaking nations under Portuguese rule, in general. Nonetheless, the case of Angola and its legislative framework is largely common to that of other African countries, such as Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, which despite their particularities, followed the same "unusual rules" in bulk consequently incentivizing a documentation analysis.

A documentation analysis corresponds to a procedure in which documents that researchers have not altered are scrutinized in order to achieve a reasonable goal marked by the in-depth narrative of a phenomenon (Bowen, 2009).

The current thesis and its theoretical proposition are in large part inspired by the work of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002a) and that of new institutional economists that try to find the institutional framework of the colonial rule, in particular through private property, the answer to the development issues some nations currently face. However, considering the need for establishing limits on both the scope and timeframe, one decided to look into how the legislation related to private property can be related to human capital accumulation through schooling and movement within nations. Additionally, the timeframe utilized comprises that of the Portuguese dictatorship, 1933 to 1974, and the proceeding year in which the treaties for independence were signed by the Portuguese government and the Angolan independence movements (this, once again, is not relevant for the analysis but contextualization).

While, as stated in the previous chapter, the legal documents started by being analyzed and coded utilizing 'NVivo 12', the same was not applied throughout the thesis's continuation due to budget constraints. Nonetheless, the documents were coded within the broadness of their application. For example, while the Constitution was to be applied to the entire Portuguese territory, the Overseas Administrative Reform was just to be employed in the colonies, while the concessions of terrains hereby present were only applicable to Angola itself. Additionally, the documents were coded within their impact on private property.

As for the human capital data, the coding was related to how much human capital was attained.

5 Empirical Analysis

5.1 Description and application of private property law

The first aspect that arises when considering the overall Portuguese legislation in 1933 is to whom the law applies.

According to the Portuguese constitution of 1933, the right to property and its transmission have been deemed a right and guarantee for every Portuguese citizen (The Portuguese Nation, 1933a). However, according to the same document, property, as well as means of production such as labour and capital, are considered to have a social purpose, and thereafter the law can determine the conditions of how it is used and aims for its exploration towards a collective goal (The Portuguese Nation, 1933a).

While these two articles may not be deemed as a contradiction if one considers the existence of national property, the fact that property is described in a general term can lead one to consider that despite the right of Portuguese citizens to have property, the state is the ultimate owner that can revoke said property, showcasing a level of incongruity that is disposed legally at a constitutional level.

There is one other factor that showcases this inconsistency. While in the constitution, it is stated that the revision of the Constitution was to occur on the span of 10 years, except when two-thirds of the National Assembly was to vote in favour of the revision of the Constitution. From 1933 to 1974, the constitution was revised and altered ten times, with six happening during the 30s, to adjust the constitutional principles to those of the dictator, António de Oliveira Salazar.

Another aspect of interest is the applicability of the constitution to the colonies and those inhabiting it. For example, article 132 of the constitution states that the Portuguese Colonial Empire, besides being ruled by the constitution itself, was to be governed under the Colonial Act (The Portuguese Nation, 1933a).

The Colonial Act was published alongside the constitution on the 11th of April 1933. Articles 1 and 25 reiterate what has been stated under Article 132 of the constitution: the colonies are to follow the constitution except for those laws that refer exclusively to the metropolis or are enlisted within the Colonial Act or specific bills for the political regime and administration of the colonies (The Portuguese Nation, 1933b).

The dichotomy of the colonized versus the colonizers is notable when considering the subsequent articles and is largely instigated by the hunger for colonization. According to article 2, the Portuguese nation, in its essence, has the “historic role” of possessing and colonizing the overseas territories under the role of “civilizing” and Catholicizing those living in the colonized lands. Additionally, the rules applied in the Colonial Act differ majorly from those of the 1867 civil code (still applied in 1933), enhancing the pre-established difference between those living on each land.

For example, according to Article 9 of the Colonial Act, one could not acquire terrains or buildings that either:

- Were 80 (or less) meters from the coastline.
- Were 80 (or more) meters above sea level or were located within the same distance of lakes and rivers.
- Were 100 meters (or less) away from the projected or built train lines

The article also defines the possibility of adding more concessions, that those plots could both be conceded temporarily, and that, if the government so desires, could be defined within settlements. An application of this law could be seen under law-decree 22:454 of 1933, in which in the province of Malange, within a populated area, minerals were found, and the exploration of the terrain was only limited to a period of three years (Direção Geral das Colónias do Ocidente: Repartição de Angola e S.Tomé, 1933).

On the other hand, under the civil code, along with being stated, in Article 359, that the right for private property is within human nature and is recognized under the law if legitimately obtained, it is also defined that those whose plots of land cross or border any waterways can use it freely under the limits of the law (which for those in mainland Portugal were non).

From the comparison of these two articles, it is deductible that these differences arise mostly from the hunger to conquer, the free access by officials to the natural resources, and the entrained need for expansion and repopulation of the territory. This relation is even more evident when observing Articles 20 and 36.

Article 20 focuses mostly on land repopulation in Africa and defines both the existence of certain areas bound for the appropriation by the Portuguese communities as well as the requirements for its concession; in particular, it specifies that the concessions were not to be made to foreigners and should only be conceded for urban expansion or for industrial and commercial establishment (Article 20 also gives us a glimpse of a phenomenon that will be further discussed that points out to the differences of the access to private property by Portuguese nationals and those native to the land)

Article 36 states that the financial and economical means of Angola and other colonial states, unless utilized for decentralization within the territories, belonged to the Portuguese mainland.

At the end of 1933, we also observe the formulation of the Overseas Administrative Reform. While, in general terms, this amendment only considers how the public administration is selected and is supposed to operate, it is within its guidelines that one can observe the

differences between the rights of the colonizers and that of the native population. Though the Portuguese colonizers were able to acquire land for private expropriation, under the role of the colonial administration's general inspector and the circumscription administrators, we observe different tendencies for the natives that showcase a dichotomy and incongruity of the law itself.

On the one hand, we observe the implementation of rules prohibiting the slavery of native individuals. The inspector had the role of protecting the native individuals and making sure that this population was employed and recruited within the law. On the other hand, the circumscription administrators had the responsibility of capturing the natives that tried to move residence to other circumscriptions or even decided to leave the circumscription without legal approval and could propose the expulsion of the natives of their own land for a period of two years without any legal formalization or registry if such eviction was of public interest or represented a danger to said public interest (The Portuguese Nation, 1933c).

The lack of rules and formalization of these cases points out a lack of private property protection by the state for indigenous individuals and enhances the possibility of exploitation of their land.

The use of state power on land is also evident in the proceeding years. In 1934, for example, one can denote a limitation on the search for Angolan minerals for six months, while in 1935, we see the concession of land for the exploration of natural resources by international companies under the restriction that those resources were still Portuguese property. These types of limitations tended to occur throughout the study period, and despite being relevant for the study of private property, its repetition is not deemed appropriate for the length of the current thesis (The Portuguese Nation, 1934, 1935a, 1936a, 1937a, 1937b). Additionally, it should also be noted that the Portuguese Government reviewed these types of concessions in order to ensure that the terms in which the granting was established complied (in case they were not, the land proceeded to return to the Portuguese government) (The Portuguese Nation, 1938).

The following year also showcases the previously mentioned urge for the repopulation of the territory. For example, one observes the first utilization of the state's power in favour of private property for both natives and colonizers, with a clear emphasis on the latter.

The beginning of Law Decree 25:027 mentions that the Portuguese State saw the increase of the European population in Angola as a necessity and denotes that despite the efforts made thus far for the achievement of this goal, they had been unsuccessful. As a way to revert this situation, the general government of Angola had an obligation to limit terrains within the train line of Benguela to be used for colonial expansion. Every colonial family had provisionally the right to rent and explore agriculturally a plot of at least 200 acres previously prepared with a garden and a house. Additionally, the Portuguese families had the right to free agricultural tools, free tickets between the Angolan port of arrival and their respective plots, all the materials and technical support for the cultivation demands of the land, and medical support. The rent would then be paid through the concession of the results of part of its cornfields, with the rest having to be entirely bought by the government (The Portuguese Nation, 1935b). In 1936 a new decree was added to this initiative and pointed out the free movement of seeds

and a discount of 50% on machinery and agricultural tools, with their value being restituted to the colonizers through a debits account (The Portuguese Nation, 1936b).

As for the general population, Decree 25:153 points to the exemption of import rights for agricultural goods to be offered to both Portuguese and natives to restrain the perverse effect of an agricultural plague and thereafter maintain secure the individuals' private property (The Portuguese Nation, 1935c).

It is to note that besides all these articles favouring private property, they are a result of the government needs and reflect the applicability of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson's (2002a) idea on the claim of political power.

In 1939 it was observable a case of a double-bladed sword. The Law Decree 22:989 points to the concession of high-quality terrains (due to the abundance of natural resources) to Portuguese families that had inhabited this territory in the suburbs of Luanda for over ten years. This case allowed for the generalization of private appropriation of high-quality land by Portuguese colonizers under the condition that they had been living in the land for over five years. Still, in the case this terrain was in a city, the families only had access to 2 acres, and in the case, it was located in the suburbs, the families had access to 5 acres (The Portuguese Nation, 1939).

While, in general terms, this points out a movement towards the access of private property by Portuguese colonizers, it also points out how, until that time, these people were not benefiting from the appropriation of the land they were living in, considering that the land was deemed as of higher priority, and depended on certain conditions and limits in area no matter the size of the land actually utilized. Additionally, it denotes, once again, how the rules were not applied to every citizen as the decree stipulates the granting of private property to those who were Portuguese, which, as it will be seen later, is not considered the case of native individuals.

1940 counts as a year in which more efforts for repopulation were attained, in this case through the exemption from taxes on buildings that were to be built between 1940 and 1944, with this date being posteriorly extended to 1949 (The Portuguese Nation, 1940, 1944).

It is also in the 40s that we observe accountability by the state in remunerating those who have lost part of their property to the state due to concessions for natural resource exploitation. In particular, Ordinance n. ° 11:878 points to a credit granted for the indemnity of a building destroyed for this purpose (The Portuguese Nation, 1947). Parallely, Ordinance 12:283 also describes the concession of a credit destined to compensate those affected by the exploration of (previously) privately owned land (The Portuguese Nation, 1948).

In the constitutional reform of 1951, we have the transition of the colonies to provinces of Portugal, with the most notable change being in terms of referral to the territories. Nevertheless, the constitution still denotes its “historic role” and the application of “special rules” for the administration of the provinces.

Nonetheless, one can see relevant main changea in terms of private property. For starters, it is mentioned that the natives have, within the law, the right of property to the land and culture

and that this should be respected with the state being declined of conceding their land. However, this oisutive note clashes with the rest of the constitution.

It is stated that the law will identify any “destined land” of interest to the public domain. If the identification occurs, the land can not be sold, and in case a concession of land is made, even if under the utilization of foreign capital, the conditions of the concession should be made with the goal of nationalization and could not under any circumstance result in the selling or exclusive appropriation of the terrains. Furthermore, it is stated that any plot of land that until that point did not constitute private property was deemed as state-owned, with their administration being of charge by mainland Portugal (The Portuguese Nation, 1951).

For the first time, we see the protection of the native’s private property as the main purpose of the private property law. Still, it should be denoted that at the time of publication of the constitution, the previously mentioned roles of the circumscription administrators were yet to be revoked, meaning that the natives could be expelled from their own land without any registered cause. The other constitutional clauses are not new, purely formalising what had been done regarding land concession. The 1950s also constituted the time in which most of the European occupied colonies in Africa became independent; in this sense, the protection of the land as Portuguese territory passed by the reformulation of the constitution with the goal of painting the colony not as a colony but as a province and guaranteeing legally that the natives were not exploited.

However, the simple fact that the natives were never deemed as nationals points out that they were exploited, as their rights and duties were not the same as the rest of the population’s.

The 1954 constitution showcases an increasing recognition of the indigenous distinct legal treatment, which despite being admitted, was still highly encouraged. Of relevance is the acknowledgement that up until 1954, there was no homogeneity on how indigenous people could acquire Portuguese nationality. Nonetheless, it is also defined that the sovereignty of the Portuguese government is the main dictator of the applicability of the native’s culture and that the pertinence of their culture depends on the “evolutionary” degree of the native him/herself (meaning the proximity to the Portuguese costumes). This “evolution” is also a defined goal of the Portuguese government, which declares it as a stepping stone to achieving citizenship and guaranteeing their active participation in society. The constitution also states how the government will expropriate the natives of their culture through education (The Portuguese Nation, 1954a).

Adding to this reform that wanted to “elevate” the status of the natives is the fact that under the law, the indigeneous belonged to the administration of the territory in which they permanently lived (The Portuguese Nation, 1954a).

It is interesting to note, once again, the incongruencies and the continuous changes of the constitution. While in 1951, it was stated that the natives had the right to their land and culture, in 1954, the conditions of these rights were established. The locals have the right to their culture, but the government will do its best to change it to fit the minority’s norms, which happens to be the only way of achieving Portuguese nationality. As previously portrayed, the acquirement of the nationality allowed people to access several concessions of

private property that others did not have access to. For example, also in 1954, it is observed the transfer of apartments from the state exclusively to Portuguese private owners living in the building (The Portuguese Nation, 1954b).

In 1961, with the nation on the brim of war, the state tried to justify the reasoning behind the different treatment of the natives and changed the law on the natives' participation in local administration. Despite this law not stating explicit changes on the access to private property nor changes on the access to nationality (which will then imply these people's private property), it is of my understanding that educating people on the violent and obnoxious excuses used to rationalize an act that is unrationalizable should be of major priority to anyone who writes on colonialism, in this sense it is also of my personal understanding that some of the words proffered on Law Decree n.º 48 893 will help shed light on how and why natives did not have access to the same laws regarding private property.

As always, the law starts by inputting the act on tradition. However, it says that the action was good because it showcased several values that were foreign and ensured the evolution and valorization of humanity. It also states that there were never restrictions on private property and that limits imposed only aimed to guarantee “superior morals”, which had been later added to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The law goes then to say that the major addition to the territory was the concept of State which had been implemented without violence (The Portuguese Nation, 1961).

It is also stated that to be Portuguese meant to obey Portuguese sovereignty; as the natives did not, they could not be considered Portuguese. Additionally, they state that the lack of private property was justified due to this sense of nationality. In the case of the natives, the access to private property passed through their formal relations with their political status, in other words, on their belief in Portuguese sovereignty (it is also stated that this relation is nonexistent in the cases of India, Macao, Cape Verde, S. Tome and Principe, and Timor) (The Portuguese Nation, 1961).

Before the end of the legislation, two unreasonable arguments are stated. Firstly, it is mentioned that the legislative differences on the access of private property were a way to consider the differences from human to human and the political differences between the native's laws and those of the Portuguese. Secondly, it is stated that these differences were a contribution to Human Rights because they oriented other states on how to manage contact with other individuals with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, in particular in South America, because it was based on “respect” (The Portuguese Nation, 1961).

It is notable how some of these arguments, besides being senseless, are also not true. As has been established before, there were restrictions on the private property of the natives because they did not have the same rights. Additionally, despite the government's acknowledgement of the cultural differences, it was still entitled to the Portuguese administration to manage and adapt the cultural and political laws enlisted by the natives. Furthermore, the Portuguese State sugar-coated the colonization by painting it as contact with other cultures. Finally, as it will be acknowledged, the state also defined a set of conditions for the achievement of nationalization that are nothing related to Portuguese sovereignty but on the approximation of cultural and language skills.

In 1970 it was noted the aggravation of the war and the toll it had taken towards the independence of Angolan territory. In this sense, it is established that the Portuguese nation is no longer the owner of the unoccupied terrains and that, for the first time, they are to follow what is established in the Portuguese Civil Code regarding private appropriation. This aimed to establish an adequate use of the land, which were later defined to be of possible concession of private property but ultimately belonged to the province itself, with special regulation in case of entitlement by people who follow indigenous legislation (The Portuguese Nation, 1970a, 1972a).

In 1970, the government also acknowledged the lack of habitational infrastructures for those with lower financial means and created the legal conditions for constructing these infrastructures (The Portuguese Nation, 1970b, 1972b).

In 1974 we started observing the movement towards independence. It was created a transitory government that aimed for the independence of Angola and the creation of a National Commission for Decolonization. Parallely in 1975, we observe the signing of the treaty of Alvor, which was dismantled later in the same year due to the beginning of the Angolan civil war (The Portuguese Nation, 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b).

Some remarks should be made regarding the analysis of private property and the conclusions made on the work of Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2002a). Accounting to their conclusions, it is fair to state that, for the most part, they were correct; there was, as of the period of reference, the persistency of extractive institutions of private property and the government itself defines that the same institutions were applied in South America by other governments. However, their work has not mentioned other aspects due to a lack of contextualization for each of the nations analyzed. For starters, it is not considered how the establishment of Angola as we know it started only in the nineteenth century. Additionally, there have been institutions of private property with a focus on repopulation applied in the country, and even though some took into account the agricultural exploration of the land, for example, we have the lots along the railways of Benguela, this was not the case for the majority of the policies. One thing it is not mentioned is how the private property policies did not apply to everyone in the territory, and this might be given as the key to the discrepancies we see currently. It is also fair to state that in the case of homogeneity of laws, one could have experienced more peaceful and inclusive decolonization that could potentially break the cycle of exploration of natural resources that we currently see and not result in a war of power demand, driven by the exploitation of the land.

It is also interesting to note how the jure and de facto political powers work. One can observe that those in charge of the de jure political power, adapted the laws on private property due to a progressive shift on those with de facto political power.

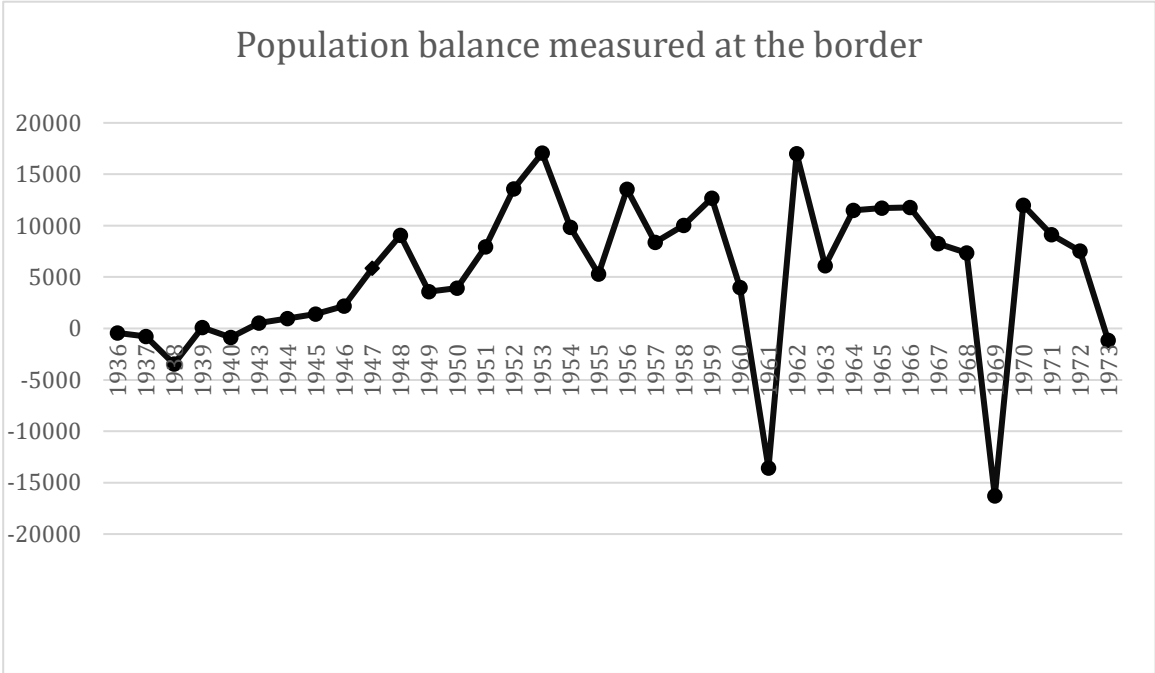
Another aspect is how does the institutional framework impact human capital accumulation. Under the arguments of Acemoglu, Gallego and Robinson (2014) the existence of private property is correlated with the accumulation of human capital. Additionally, the protection of private property not only incentivizes research and development but also works as a guarantee that the individuals have a return on the investment of education, consequently influencing growth through increases in productivity. In this sense, given the framework of the private

property policies in Angola during the period of 1933 to 1974, it is not expected that human capital accumulation was to be incentivized until the 1950s, and when it was, it was not expected to be homogenous to the entire population, given the exclusivity of private property laws. Nonetheless, the trends and the confirmation of this assumption will be of relevance in the upcoming sub-chapter.

5.2 Human Capital accumulation during the dictatorship

As previously stated, the information on the 1930s is not vast, beginning in 1938. Additionally, the information available for each of the colonies is not homogeneous. While in the case of Cape Verde, information on education and population movements are available for said year, the same does not happen in Angola, where only commercial relations are exposed. Nonetheless, in 1940 it was estimated that 3,225,015 inhabited the country. The report also gives us a glimpse of the number of people who arrived and left the country from the years 1936 to 1940 and showcases a deficit that can be identified in figure 1, and that goes accordingly with what has been stated before regarding the difficulties in the retention of the population in the nation.

Figure 2- Migratory movements in Angola from 1936 to 1940



Created by the author with data from Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1973)

As of 1941, the population had grown by around 500 thousand people. It is also stated that given the population stratification by age, most were of schooling age, with 15 years or less. Additionally, this represents the year in which there were more entries in the country than

exits. There is also a growing number of indigenous registered in the country. However, the number is still small and only accounts for two thousand people.

It is also given information on the number of people employed within various fields, and from this data, one can foresee that within the mineral field, 180 had higher education, and two million were working in fields that did not imply higher education, of which only 35 were not natives (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1942).

In 1942 we observed the first information related to the educational attainment of individuals. It was estimated that around 8,586 people were enrolled in private or official primary education. However, as of secondary education, the number drops significantly to 598, of which 501 were white, 91 were mixed race, and six were black (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1943).

In the 1944 report (which also bears in mind 1943), one can be aware of the overall state of the population by considering the number of individuals who travelled to Angola from mainland Portugal and their educational attainment. Although a large percentage of individuals had at the time learnt how to read (78 people) or underwent primary school (116 people), nonetheless, as the level of education progresses, the number of individuals decreases, amounting to 7 people with higher education and 22 with a high school diploma. Another impressive fact is how the number of individuals who could not read was slightly superior to those who had been enrolled in high school, amounting to 33 people. Showcasing how many individuals were to perform low-skilled jobs in the country (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1945).

The report also showcases how the number of people enrolled in primary and secondary education doubled in two years, denoting 13,442 people enrolled in primary education and 1,887 in secondary education (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1945).

It should be noted that in 1944 the private property initiatives with the goal of repopulation were reinforced.

In 1946 one can observe an increase in the country's positive differential gap of entries and exits. It also indicates an increasing number of Belgians in the country, most likely due to the proximity to the then Belgian Kongo. As for the number of people enrolled in primary education, one can observe a drop of around 3 thousand people (10,408) in comparison to 1944 and 200 people (1,602) when considering secondary education (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1947).

1947 and 1948 represent the years in which, for the first time, one can denote an overview of the Portuguese population by educational level. According to the report, 35,162 people did not know how to read, while 56,449 were able to do so. Additionally, we observe a record of the number of entries in the country surpassing the exits by 10,000. As for the number of individuals enrolled in primary education, the values have not suffered as much volatility as previously, amounting to 11,089 in 1947 and 10,953 in 1948. Nevertheless, the number of secondary education individuals had reached two thousand by 1948 (1,022 in 1947 and 2,239 in 1948) (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1950).

In 1949, one can denote a slower pace in the migratory movements, with the difference still being positive but only amounting to around 3,000 people. There was also a slight drop in the number of people enrolled in the educational system, and only 9,044 were enrolled in primary education while 2,166 were in secondary education (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1951).

The country's increasing attractiveness can be showcased in terms of education and movements in the country. Around 13,0000 more people had entered Angola in 1951 than had left. Furthermore, by 1950, 10,835 attended primary school, with this number rising to 13,586 in 1951. As for secondary school, the numbers still rounded to 2,000, reaching 2,191 in 1950 and 2,444 in 1951 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1952).

It is interesting to note that this has been a persistent tendency throughout the years. Regarding population movements, they go hand-in-hand with the considerations of a country's attractiveness. The values kept rising from 1951 until the difference (of entries and exits) reached its peak in 1966 and decreased in the subsequent years. As of 1973, 101,123 people were leaving the nation and 100,119 enterings, leading to a deficient number that had not been seen since the 30s. Additionally, from 1969 one can gather additional information, such as that of 1944, which entails the education attainment of those moving to Angola, and it is interesting to note that the same tendencies are maintained. Out of those moving to Angola, 4,489 individuals were able to read, 10,312 who had attended primary education, 622 with secondary education, 235 with primary education, and 1,237 who could not read.

It is justifiable to state that the number of people moving to the country has decreased due to the war and that until this point, the legislation of private property has enhanced the increase in the number of Portuguese moving to Angola. Furthermore, the level of education attained by those moving to the country points out two factors. In one way, it shows how the Portuguese colonialists were present in the entire value chain and that the lack of legislation that encouraged the participation of the natives in the economic and legal process might have created a greater barrier to inclusivity. On the other, it showcases the extractive mindset behind the Portuguese government's laws; for example, when there were land concessions in Benguela, they clearly pointed out the skillset of those with lower education and rural background.

It is also interesting to note how there was an increasing positive perspective on the returns of investment when applied solely to primary education, and in some way, that is related to the backwards mindset present during the time of the study. As of 1953, there were over 50,000 students enrolled in primary school, while the number only ascended to 2,582 in secondary school. As of 1960, this number had doubled for primary school and tripled for secondary school. However, this level of education had only achieved the double digits by 1965. Nonetheless, in 1973 there were over 500,000 students enrolled in primary school, over 40,000 students enrolled in secondary school, and 3,000 students enrolled at universities in Angola and mainland Portugal (a piece of information that only became available in 1969). The most relevant aspect is how the rising trend of secondary education goes hand in hand with the beginning of the war and the increasing incentives and openness regarding private property. Nonetheless, it would have also been interesting to analyze the ethnicity of those enrolled in school. Though it is fair to assume that the majority of individuals would be of Portuguese descent and that there was generalized oppression of the natives, this specific

information was only available during the 30s and only assumptions are permissive of being made.

It is fair to conclude that the assumptions made in the previous sub-chapter are coherent, and that the work of Acemoglu, Gallego, and Robinson (2014), is applicable to the case of Angola in the sense that the institutional framework, in the shape of private property negatively impacted human capital accumulation. This is evident when observing the rudimentary tendencies on the levels of literacy.

6 Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis was to try and understand the legislative framework of private property in Angola from 1933 until its independence in 1974, while accounting for the existence of extractive institutions, and a legislative discrepancy within the Portuguese territories and those living in Angola. Another relevant aspect was the possible correlation between human capital accumulation and private property laws.

From the analysis, it can be concluded that there were different legislations of private property in the different territories controlled by the Portuguese. Additionally, there was a discrepancy in the legislative treatment of the natives concerning their possession of the land that was justified in a quite senseless manner and was not accompanied by any changes.

The analysis also highlighted the fact that the independence war occurred in nations where the natives were subjected to a different treatment than Portuguese descendants and ceased to exist in those in which the discrepancies were not formalized.

Additionally, a resemblance to openness and proximity to Portuguese laws occurred only at a later stage and still then, its applicability was not homogenous to those inhabiting the land. This can be considered a triggering point that made it impossible to break the exploitation cycle. If the focus had shifted at an earlier stage, it could have been possible to observe a more peaceful independence paired with the contention of the country's human capital.

The legal differences between Portugal and Angola highlighted the goal of exploitation of the land. However, in contrast to what has been established in the work by Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2002a), they are accompanied by the goal to repopulate the land with Portuguese natives through increasing incentives to private property, in particular through concessions of land for both living and exploration of land (however at a smaller scale when considering direct concessions to individuals and families).

When contemplating the case of human capital accumulation, one can confirm the expectations when comparing it with the nation's legal framework. When considering population movements, one can denote that the number of individuals entering Angola was superior to those leaving from the 1940s until its culmination in 1966, where we can observe the opposite trend. This is in general in pair with the concessions of property to private entities and, at a later stage, the increasing presence of war. It should also be noted that those moving to the country had, in general, low literacy levels, pointing out the incentives for the exploitation of the land.

On the other hand, when considering schooling attendance, one can denote an increasing number of individuals enrolled in official schools and, thereafter, an increasing perspective on the return on education, particularly that of primary school, which once again points out to the

overall focus in the exploration of land, but also denotes an increase of legislations prone to private property.

Unfortunately, the dataset did not allow for an in-depth look at the composition of those attending school. Though it is fair to assume that there was a discrepancy between natives and those of Portuguese descent, the statistical information does not allow for a concrete conclusion, though it should be strived for in upcoming research.

Overall, this study opens the possibility for further research on Portuguese-speaking nations under Portuguese rule. Not only in order to observe the legislative differences between them, but also how those differences are represented in conformation to the regions in which the territories are located, as well as the resulting outcomes from there inherent.

References

Acemoglu, D., Gallego, F. A. & Robinson, J. A. (2014). Institutions, Human Capital, and Development, p.42.

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. H. & Robinson, J. A. (2001a). An African Success Story: Botswana, *SSRN Electronic Journal*, [e-journal], Available Online: <http://www.ssrn.com/abstract=290791> [Accessed 27 June 2022].

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. & Robinson, J. (2004). Institutions as the Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth, *C.E.P.R. Discussion Papers, CEPR Discussion Papers*.

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. & Robinson, J. A. (2001b). The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation, *The American Economic Review*, vol. 91, no. 5, pp.1369–1401.

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. & Robinson, J. A. (2002a). Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 117, no. 4, pp.1231–1294.

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. & Robinson, J. A. (2002b). Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 117, no. 4, pp.1231–1294.

Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J. A. (2000). Political Losers as a Barrier to Economic Development, *The American Economic Review*, vol. 90, no. 2, pp.126–130.

Acemoglu, D. & Verdier, T. (1998). Property Rights, Corruption and the Allocation of Talent: A General Equilibrium Approach, *The Economic Journal*, vol. 108, no. 450, pp.1381–1403.

Agostinho, F. P. (2011). Guerra Em Angola: AS Heranças Da Luta de Libertação e a Guerra Civil.

Agualusa, J. E. (1993). A história oficial do MPLA conta que o partido foi fundado numa noite de 1956, por um pequeno grupo de patriotas reunidos num, vol. 1, p.9.

Almeida, F. (2015). The Psychology of Early Institutional Economics: The Instinctive Approach of Thorstein Veblen's Conspicuous Consumer Theory, *Economia*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp.226–234.

Balgido Quiage. (2014). EDUCAÇÃO EM ANGOLA – ANTES, DURANTE E DEPOIS DA INDEPENDÊNCIA, *BALGIDO QUIAGE*, Available Online: <https://balgidoquiage.wordpress.com/2014/09/17/educacao-em-angola-antes-durante-e-depois-da-independencia/> [Accessed 10 July 2022].

Bandyopadhyay, S. & Green, E. (2012). The Reversal of Fortune Thesis Reconsidered, *The Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 48, no. 7, pp.817–831.

Barro, R. J. (1990). Government Spending in a Simple Model of Endogeneous Growth, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 98, no. 5, Part 2, pp.S103–S125.

Benoiel, D. (2015). THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONS ON PATENT PROPENSITY ACROSS COUNTRIES, p.41.

Bonnerot, C., Dubois, J., Sebastiao, D. & Claver, E. (2022). Revisited - The Painful Legacy of Angola's Civil War, *France 24*, Available Online: <https://www.france24.com/en/tv-shows/revisited/20220506-the-painful-legacy-of-angola-s-civil-war> [Accessed 9 August 2022].

Bowen, G. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method, *Qualitative Research Journal*, vol. 9, pp.27–40.

Boyko, A. A., Kukartsev, V. V., Tynchenko, V. S., Eremeev, D. V., Kukartsev, A. V. & Tynchenko, S. V. (2019). Simulation-Dynamic Model of Long-Term Economic Growth Using Solow Model, *Journal of Physics: Conference Series*, vol. 1353, no. 1, p.012138.

Busetto, L., Wick, W. & Gumbinger, C. (2020). How to Use and Assess Qualitative Research Methods, *Neurological Research and Practice*, vol. 2, no. 1, p.14.

Cahen, M. (2021). Breve História da Angola Moderna [séculos XIX-XXI], de David Birmingham, *Análise Social*, pp.532-539 Páginas.

Clark, J. M. (1939). Social Control of Business, Whittlesey house, McGraw-Hill book Company, Incorporated.

Coase, R. (1998). The New Institutional Economics, *The American Economic Review*, vol. 88, no. 2, pp.72–74.

Commons, J. R. (1934). “Institutional Economics”, p.7.

Correia, L. S. P. (2016). O Papel dos Estados Unidos da América no Processo de Descolonização de Angola, p.93.

CPLP-SE. (2022). Cronologia do Ensino em Angola, *CPLP-SE*, Available Online: <https://www.cplp-se.org/pt/noticias/go/noticias-angola-sinprof-cronologia-do-ensino-em-angola> [Accessed 17 July 2022].

da Cunha Carvalho, T. E. (2015). O Conflito entre MPLA e UNITA/FNLA como Materialização do Confronto URSS/EUA: no contexto da Guerra Fria, Available Online: https://ubibliorum.ubi.pt/bitstream/10400.6/5906/1/4017_7803.pdf [Accessed 7 August 2022].

Dalgaard, C.-J. & Strulik, H. (2013). The History Augmented Solow Model, p.41.

Dias, J. & Tebaldi, E. (2012). Institutions, Human Capital, and Growth: The Institutional Mechanism, *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp.300–312.

Direção Geral das Colónias do Ocidente: Repartição de Angola e S.Tomé. (1933). Law Decree 22:453, Articles 1 and 2.

Easterlin, R. A. (1981). Why Isn't the Whole World Developed?, *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp.1–19.

Elsner, W., Heinrich, T. & Schwardt, H. (2015). Chapter 14 - The Size Dimension of Complex Economies—Towards a Meso-Economics: The Size of Interaction Arenas and the Emergence of Meso-Platforms of Institutional Coordination**This Chapter Was Coauthored by Claudius Gräbner., in W. Elsner, T. Heinrich, & H. Schwardt (eds), *The Microeconomics of Complex Economies*, [e-book] San Diego: Academic Press, pp.419–447, Available Online: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780124115859000142> [Accessed 27 June 2022].

Engerman, S. L. & Sokoloff, K. L. (2005). Colonialism, Inequality, and Long-Run Paths of Development, Working Paper, 11057, Available Online: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w11057> [Accessed 3 July 2022].

Engerman, S. L. & Sokoloff, K. L. (2008). Institutional and Non-Institutional Explanations of Economic Differences, in C. Ménard & M. M. Shirley (eds), *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*, [e-book] Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, pp.639–665, Available Online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-69305-5_26 [Accessed 2 July 2022].

Fortuna, C. & Cahen, M. (2013). “Quer a Frelimo e o MPLA, quer a Renamo e a Unita, são partidos profundamente diferentes” – pesquisando os passos de Christine Messiant, 12, *Revista Angolana de Sociologia*, no. 12, pp.127–153.

Francis, J. (2014a). The ‘Reversal of Fortune’: Institutions or Globalisation? - Joseph a. Francis, Available Online: <https://www.joe Francis.info/reversal-of-fortune/> [Accessed 30 June 2022].

Francis, J. (2014b). The ‘Reversal of Fortune’: Institutions or Globalisation? - Joseph a. Francis, Available Online: <https://www.joe Francis.info/reversal-of-fortune/> [Accessed 30 June 2022].

Galor, O. & Moav, O. (2002). Natural Selection and the Origin of Economic Growth*, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 117, no. 4, pp.1133–1191.

Galor, O. & Weil, D. N. (2000). Population, Technology, and Growth: From Malthusian Stagnation to the Demographic Transition and Beyond, *American Economic Review*, vol. 90, no. 4, pp.806–828.

Glaeser, E., la porta, R., Lopez-de-Silanes, F. & Shleifer, A. (2004). Do Institutions Cause Growth?, *Journal of Economic Growth*, vol. 9.

Gomes, C. A. (2014). O mito da portugalidade no ensino colonial: a história e a razão metonímica, 4 (8), *Mulemba. Revista Angolana de Ciências Sociais*, no. 4 (8), pp.127–142.

Gustafsson, J. (2017). Single Case Studies vs. Multiple Case Studies: A Comparative Study, p.15.

Hansen, G. & Prescott, E. (2002). Malthus to Solow, *American Economic Review*, vol. 92, no. 4, pp.1205–1217.

Howitt, P. & Aghion, P. (1998). Capital Accumulation and Innovation as Complementary Factors in Long-Run Growth, *Journal of Economic Growth*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp.111–130.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1941). Anuário Estatístico- Ano de 1940, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1942). Anuário Estatístico- Ano de 1941, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1943). Anuário Estatístico- Ano de 1942, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1945). Anuário Estatístico Do Ultramar- 1944, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1946). Anuário Estatístico Do Império Colonial- 1945, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1947). Anuário Estatístico Do Império Colonial- 1946, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1950). Anuário Estatístico Do Império Colonial- 1947 e 1948, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1951). Nuário Estatístico Do Império Colonial- 1949, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. (1952). Anuário Estatístico Do Ultramar- 1950 e 1951, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

Keynes, J. M. (1936). *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, [e-book], Available Online: <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-319-70344-2> [Accessed 17 June 2022].

Khan, B. Z. & Sokoloff, K. L. (2001). The Early Development of Intellectual Property Institutions in the United States, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp.233–246.

Kvangraven, I. H. & Constantine, C. (2015). How Nations Succeed - A Review of the Reversal of Fortune Thesis, *The New School Economic Review*, vol. 7, pp.29–37.

Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy, *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp.69–105.

- Lusa, A. (2022). Angola. Governo e antigos alunos assinalam centenário do Liceu Salvador Correia, *Observador*, Available Online: <https://observador.pt/2019/02/22/angola-governo-e-antigos-alunos-assinalam-centenario-do-liceu-salvador-correia/> [Accessed 17 July 2022].
- Macedo, J. R. (2008). Desvendando a história da África, [e-book] Editora da UFRGS, Available Online: <http://books.scielo.org/id/yf4cf> [Accessed 8 July 2022].
- Malaquias, A. (1999). Review of Angola's Last Best Chance for Peace: An Insider's Account of the Peace Process, *Africa Today*, vol. 46, no. 3/4, pp.232–234.
- Malaquias, A. (2014). Rebels And Robbers. Violence In Post-Colonial Angola, [e-book], Available Online: <https://www.wook.pt/livro/rebels-and-robbers-violence-in-post-colonial-angola-assis-malaquias/12325501> [Accessed 7 January 2022].
- Malthus, T. R. (1999). *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Oxford University Press.
- Mamoloko, R. F. & Ngwakwe, C. (2019). Human Capital Investment and Economic Growth: A Test of Endogenous Growth Theory in Two Developing Countries, *Acta Universitatis Danubius. Œconomica*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp.92–107.
- Matias da Silva, A. C. (2018). Angola: história, luta de libertação, independência, guerra civil e suas consequências, *NEARI em Revista*, vol. 4, no. N.5 2018.1, p.15.
- Mill, J. S. (1863). Utilitarianism, Available Online: <https://www.utilitarianism.com/mill1.htm> [Accessed 17 June 2022].
- Mincer, J. A. (1974). Schooling, Experience, and Earnings, Available Online: <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/schooling-experience-and-earnings> [Accessed 17 June 2022].
- Mincer, J. & Polachek, S. (1978). An Exchange: The Theory of Human Capital and the Earnings of Women: Women's Earnings Reexamined, *The Journal of Human Resources*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp.118–134.
- MPLA. (2022). MPLA - O Partido, *Portal Oficial do MPLA*, Available Online: <https://mpla.ao> [Accessed 6 July 2022].
- North, D. C. (1991). Institutions, *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp.97–112.
- Osiobe, E. (2019). A Literature Review of Human Capital and Economic Growth, *Business & Economic Review*, vol. 9, pp.179–196.
- Pacheco, L., Costa, P. & Tavares, F. O. (2017). História económico-social de Angola: do período pré-colonial à independência Economic-social history of Angola: from the pre-colonial period to independence, p.17.

Pires, E. A., Ribeiro, N. M. & Quintella, C. M. (2020). Sistemas de Busca de Patentes: análise comparativa entre Espacenet, Patentscope, Google Patents, Lens, Derwent Innovation Index e Orbit Intelligence, 1, *Cadernos de Prospecção*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp.13–13.

Potters, C. (2022). Economic Growth Definition, *Investopedia*, Available Online: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economicgrowth.asp> [Accessed 17 August 2022].

Province of British Columbia. (2022). What Is Economic Development? - Province of British Columbia, Available Online: <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/employment-business/economic-development/plan-and-measure/economic-development-basics> [Accessed 16 August 2022].

Punzo, L. F. (2018). GROWTH THEORY AS AN UNWANTED CHILD OF MACRO-DYNAMICS, *Investigación Económica*, vol. 77, no. 306, pp.3–20.

Rádio e Televisão de Portugal. (2022a). A guerra instala-se em três frentes, *Descolonização Portuguesa*, Available Online: <https://media.rtp.pt/descolonizacaoportuguesa/peças/a-guerra-instala-se-em-tres-frentes/> [Accessed 8 July 2022].

Rádio e Televisão de Portugal. (2022b). O fim do império colonial em África - independência de Angola, *Memórias da Revolução*, Available Online: <https://media.rtp.pt/memoriasdarevolucao/acontecimento/o-fim-do-imperio-colonial-em-africa-independencia-de-angola/> [Accessed 8 July 2022].

Ricardo, D. (1817). On The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, Available Online: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/economics/ricardo/tax/index.htm> [Accessed 17 June 2022].

Robert, E. & Lucas, Jr. (2022). Lectures on Economic Growth — Robert E. Lucas, Jr., Available Online: <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674016019> [Accessed 17 June 2022].

Romer, P. M. (1986). Increasing Returns and Long-Run Growth, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 94, no. 5, pp.1002–1037.

Romer, P. M. (1990). Endogenous Technological Change, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 98, no. 5, pp.S71–S102.

Sachs, J. (2003). Institutions Don't Rule: Direct Effects of Geography on Per Capita Income, w9490, Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, p.w9490, Available Online: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9490.pdf> [Accessed 2 July 2022].

Say, J. B. (1821). A Treatise on Political Economy; Or The Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth, Wells and Lilly.

Schumpeter, J. (1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Available Online: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1496200 [Accessed 25 June 2022].

Schumpeter, J. (1983). The Theory of Economic Development, New Brunswick.

ScienceDirects. (2022). Single Case Study - an Overview | ScienceDirect Topics, Available Online: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/computer-science/single-case-study> [Accessed 28 July 2022].

Smith, A. (1776a). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth OfNation.*

Smith, A. (1776b). The Project Gutenberg EBook of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith, Available Online: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3300/3300-h/3300-h.htm> [Accessed 13 June 2022].

Solow, R. M. (1956). A Contribution to the Theory of Economic Growth, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 70, no. 1, p.65.

Teraji, S. (2018). Chapter 2 - Institutions and the Economics of Behavior I, in S. Teraji (ed.), *The Cognitive Basis of Institutions*, [e-book] Academic Press, pp.33–76, Available Online: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780128120231000028> [Accessed 27 June 2022].

The Portuguese Nation. (1933a). Constitutions of the 11th of April of 1933, 8 Part I.

The Portuguese Nation. (1933b). Acto Colonial.

The Portuguese Nation. (1933c). Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina, Articles 28, 48 and 108 23:299.

The Portuguese Nation. (1934). Law Decree n.º 24:481, Single Article 25:027.

The Portuguese Nation. (1935a). Law Decree n.º 25:033, Articles 1 to 3 25:033.

The Portuguese Nation. (1935b). Law Decree n.º 25:037, Articles 1 to 20, Pub. L. No. Articles 1 to 20.

The Portuguese Nation. (1935c). Law Decree 25:153, Articles 1 and 2 25:153.

The Portuguese Nation. (1936a). Law N.º. 1:939, Articles 1 and 2 1:939.

The Portuguese Nation. (1936b). Law Decree n.º 26:250, Article 11 26:250.

The Portuguese Nation. (1937a). Law Decree n.º 27:905, Base I 27:905.

The Portuguese Nation. (1937b). Law Decree n.º 27:898, Base I 27:898.

The Portuguese Nation. (1938). Ordinance n.º 9:107, 9:107 14/11/1938.

The Portuguese Nation. (1939). Law Decree n.º 22:989, Articles 1 and 2 22:989.

The Portuguese Nation. (1940). Decree 30:286, 30:286.

The Portuguese Nation. (1944). Decree 34:176, Article 1 34:176.

- The Portuguese Nation. (1947). Ordinance n.º 11:878, 11:878.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1948). Ordinance n.º 12:283, 12:283.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1951). Constitution, Articles 109, 133, 134, 143, 149, 161, 162, and 167 2048.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1954a). Status of the Portuguese Indigenou of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, 39.666.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1954b). Law Decree n.º 39 649, Articles 1 to 4 39 649.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1961). Law Decree n.º 43 818, Single Article 43 818.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1970a). Decree n.º 244/70, Article 1 244/70.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1970b). Decree n.º 338/70, Articles 1 and 3 338/70.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1972a). Law n.º 5/72, Base LV: Article 2 Base LXXII: Articles 1, 2, and 4 Base LXXV: Article 1 5/72.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1972b). Decree n.º 101/72, Article 95 101/72.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1974a). Law n.º 792/74, Article 1 792/74.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1974b). Law n.º 6/74, 6/74.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1975a). Law Decreen n.º 458-A/75.
- The Portuguese Nation. (1975b). Agreement of the Portuguese State and the FNLA, MPLA, AndUNITA.
- Tugwell, R. (1969). *The Brains Trust*. By Rexford G. Tugwell. New York: Viking Press, 1968. Pp. Xxxiv, 538. \$10.00., *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp.408–409.
- UNITA. (2015). *União Nacional Para a Independência Total de Angola: Estatutos*.
- Williamson, O. E. (2000). The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead, *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp.595–613.
- Wolf Jr, C. & Sufrin, S. C. (2012). *Capital Formation and Foreign Investment in Underdeveloped Areas*.
- World Justice Project. (2022). What Is the Rule of Law?, Available Online: <https://worldjusticeproject.org/about-us/overview/what-rule-law> [Accessed 4 July 2022].
- Zamulin, O. A. & Sonin, K. I. (2019). Economic Growth: Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences 2018 and the Lessons for Russia, Available Online: <https://ideas.repec.org/a/nos/voprec/2019-01-1.html> [Accessed 17 June 2022].

Appendix A

Overview of the legislative data sample

Document Name	Relevant Articles	Date of publication	Source
Law decree n. ° 22:465 Colonial Act	Title I: Articles 1, 2, 9, and 10 Title III: Article 25 Title IV: Articles 36	11/04/1933	
Constitution of 1933	Part I Title II: Article 15 Title VIII: Article 35 Part II Title VII: Articles 132, 133	11/04/1933	
Law n°. 1900 Colonial Act	Articles 1, 2, 10	21/05/1935	Portuguese Republic Assembly
Law n. ° 2048 Constitution	Title III: Article 109 Title VII: Articles 133, 134, 143, 149, 161, 162, and 167	11/06/1951	
Law decree n°. 39.666 Status of the Portuguese indigenous of the provinces of Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique	Chapter I: Articles 1, 2, 3, 23, 27, 35, 36, 37,38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 56 Chapter II: Article 9	20/05/1954	
Portuguese Civil	Part II	1/07/1967	Law school of Nova

Code	Title I: Articles 359, 365, and 431 Title IV: Articles 475, 476, and 490		University Lisbon
Law decree n. ° 22:454	Articles, 1, 2, and 3	10/04/1933	
Law decree n. ° 23:299	Section IV: Article 28		
Overseas Administrative Reform	Section VII: Article 48 Section XII: Article 108	15/11/1933	
Law decree n. ° 24:481	Single article	11/09/1934	
Law decree n. ° 25:027	Articles 1 to 20	09/02/1935	
Law decree n. ° 25:033	Articles 1 to 3	11/03/1935	Diário da República
Law decree n. ° 25:153	Articles 1 and 2	20/03/1935	
Law decree n. ° 26:250	Article 11	22/01/1936	
Law n. ° 1:939	Articles 1 and 2	27/03/1936	
Law n. ° 27:898	Base I	28/07/1937	
Law decree n. ° 27:905	Articles 1 and 4	29/07/1937	
Ordinance n. ° 9:107	-	14/11/1938	
Law decree n. ° 22:989	Articles 1 and 2	28/08/1939	
Law Decree n. ° 30:286	Single Article	01/02/1940	

Law decree n. ° 34:176	Article 1	06/12/1944
Ordinance n. ° 11:878	-	07/06/1947
Ordinance n. ° 12:283	-	14/02/1948
Law decree n. ° 39 649	Article 1 to 4	13/05/1954
Law decree n. ° 43 818	Single Article	24/07/1961
Law decree n. ° 43 893	-	06/09/1961
Law n. ° 2119 Overseas Administrative Reform	-	24/06/1963
Decree n. ° 244/70	Article 1	27/05/1970
Decree n. ° 338/70	Articles 1, and 3	15/07/1970
Decree n. ° 101/72	Article 95	28/03/1972
	Base LV: Article 2	
Law n. ° 5/72	Base LXXII: Articles 1, 2, and 4	23/06/1972
	Base LXXV: Article 1	
Law n. ° 6/74	-	24/07/1974
Law decree n. ° 792/74	Article 1	31/12/1974
Agreement of the Portuguese State and the FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA	-	28/01/1975
Law decree n. °	-	25/08/1975

Developed by the author. The roman nomenclatures represent that of the documents themselves and its inconsistency with the rest of the thesis is in no-way related to the deliberate choice of the author.